

**OPINION OF THE POPULATION ON THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL NEWS**

- ❖ **MORE THAN 90% OF THE POPULATION IS IN FAVOR OF POSTPONING THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. THE AVERAGE TIME PROPOSED IS ESTIMATED AT 3 YEARS AND 4 MONTHS.**
- ❖ **MORE THAN 90% OF THE POPULATION CONSIDERS THE ECOWAS SANCTIONS UNFAIR. LESS THAN 8% HAVE A FAVORABLE OPINION OF ECOWAS, COMPARED TO MORE THAN 90% WHO HAVE A NEGATIVE OPINION OF THIS ORGANIZATION.**
- ❖ **MORE THAN 95% OF THE POPULATION IS SATISFIED WITH THE WAY THE COUNTRY IS RUN, COMPARED TO LESS THAN 5% WHO ARE DISSATISFIED.**
- ❖ **MORE THAN 90% TRUST RUSSIA TO HELP MALI.**

In January 2022, the news in Mali was marked by the sanctions imposed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) against the Malian transitional government. According to this community, the objective is to force the Malian transitional authorities to organize presidential elections without delay. ECOWAS also believes it wants to prevent the transitional regime from taking control of the Malian population. At the same time, France has indicated that it supports these sanctions in a context where relations between France and Mali have already deteriorated. The news is also marked by the rapprochement and cooperation of the Malian and Russian authorities on the military level.

In response to ECOWAS, the Malian transitional authorities maintain that they are in step with Malian public opinion to proceed with reforms in order to lay a solid foundation for lasting stability before the elections are organized. They also point to the security situation, which is unfavorable to the holding of a transparent election and could increase the risk of post-election protests.

As a reminder, our last opinion poll (in early October 2021) found that more than 75% of Bamako residents are in favor of postponing the elections. The current survey focuses again on the population's opinion on a few current issues. Respondents answered the following questions: What should be the ideal length of time for this transition? What is the population's opinion of the transitional regime, ECOWAS and the major powers (such as France, the USA, Russia, China), and of political and religious figures? What does the population propose as a solution out of the crisis?

The survey was conducted from Friday, January 14 to Sunday, January 16, 2022 on a sample of 1345 individuals in the district of Bamako. The survey results are therefore valid for the district of Bamako and do not necessarily reflect national opinion. The quota method (with gender and age as criteria) was applied and the sample is representative of the population of the district.

***The results are as follows:***

**Q. In your opinion, over the past two months, has the general situation in the country improved, stayed the same, or deteriorated?**

To this question, 80.52% of the population thinks that the general situation of the country has improved; 10.78% thinks that it has remained at the same level while 8.33% thinks that the situation has deteriorated.

**Q. Speaking of the national conference on refoundation: when asked whether you were very satisfied, rather satisfied, rather dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the way the national conference on refoundation was organized, we found that: 81.71% were satisfied with the way the conference was organized (with 58.29% very satisfied and 23.42% rather satisfied) as opposed to 4.83% who were dissatisfied.** We found that: 81.71% are satisfied with the way the conference was organized (with 58.29% very satisfied and 23.42% rather satisfied) against 4.83% who are dissatisfied (with 2.60% rather dissatisfied and 2.23% very dissatisfied), 13.46% did not give an answer to this question.

**Q. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied with the conclusions of the national conference on refoundation?** It appears that 76.43% of Bamako residents are satisfied with the conclusions of these meetings (with 52.27% very satisfied and 24.16% rather satisfied) against 5.79% who are dissatisfied (with 3.49% rather dissatisfied and 2.30% very dissatisfied), 17.77% could not give an answer to this question.

**Q. Today, there are two opinions circulating among the Malian population: the first maintains that the elections should be organized as soon as possible; while the second opinion defends the postponement of these elections for a better organization at the appropriate time. What is your opinion?** The results reveal that: 94.35% of the population of Bamako is for the postponement of elections while 5.43% of this population thinks that we should organize these elections as soon as possible and 0.22% did not give an answer to this question. Most of the population is therefore in favor of postponing the presidential elections. The cross-tabulation of this variable with the level of education shows that: more than 90% of the people are in favor of postponing the elections, regardless of their level of education (95.18% for those who have less than a bachelor's degree and 91.26% for those who have completed university studies).

**Q. From January 2022 to present time, in your opinion, how much time should we allow the current government to hold presidential elections?** Considering the decreasing cumulative function: 81.71% of the population asks for a postponement of at least two years; 63.72% are for a postponement of at least 3 years and 49.29% are for a postponement of at least 4 years. The average duration is estimated at about 3 years and 4 months (assumption of treatment of outliers: those who proposed a duration higher than 5 years were reduced to 5 years, they were about 12.7% of the respondents. Conversely, those who proposed a duration of less than 6 months were reduced to 6 months, they were about 1.3% of the respondents).

**Q. Are you very satisfied; somewhat satisfied; not satisfied; not at all satisfied with the way President Assimi Goïta and his team are running the country?** The results show that 96.28% are satisfied with the management of the country (with 76.80% very satisfied and 19.48% rather satisfied) against 3.71% who are dissatisfied (with 2.97% rather dissatisfied and 0.74% very dissatisfied).

**Q. Regarding the ECOWAS sanctions against the Malian transitional government, do you find these sanctions very unfair, rather unfair, rather fair or very fair?** We found that 92.42% of the population finds these sanctions unfair (with 76.13% very unfair and 16.28% rather unfair) versus 7.58% who find the sanctions fair (with 3.49% rather fair and 4.09% very fair).

**Q. Level of confidence in ECOWAS to defend the interests of the West African population: do you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, not much confidence or not at all confidence in ECOWAS to defend the interests of the West African population?** The results show that: only 7.51% of the population has confidence in ECOWAS (with 1.04% having a lot of confidence and 6.47% having some confidence) as against 90.56% who do not have confidence in this organization (with 67.51% not at all confident and 23.05% not very confident) to defend the interests of the West African population?

**Q. Opinion on Mali's response to ECOWAS: In your opinion, is Mali's response to ECOWAS the very right way, the right way, the wrong way, or the very wrong way?** 86.62% of the population think it was the right way (with 63.42% very right way and 23.20% rather right way) versus 5.65% who think it was the wrong way (with 3.49% rather wrong way and 2.16% very wrong way).

**Q. ECOWAS has indicated that the Malian population is being held hostage by the current authorities: I would like to know, do you see the current authorities as a team that should stay for as long as it takes to stabilize the country or as a team that should quickly hand over power to a democrat?** For this question, 94.28% of the population wants the current team to stay while 5.72% wants them to hand over power to a democrat.

**Q. Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not concerned, or not at all concerned about the likely negative effects of these sanctions on the population?** We have 52.64% worried about the likely negative effects of the sanctions (with 27.51% very worried and 25.13% somewhat worried) versus 47.22% who are not worried (with 33.90% not at all worried and 15.32% somewhat not worried).

**Q. Opinion on the support provided by France since 2012: are you very satisfied; somewhat satisfied; not satisfied; not at all satisfied with the support provided by France in solving the problem of the north?** The analysis shows that the majority of the population is not satisfied with the support provided by France. Indeed, 96.28% of the population (more than 9 out of 10 people) declare that they are not satisfied with the support provided by France (with 82.30% not at all satisfied and 13.98% not rather not satisfied). Only 3.72% declared to be satisfied with this support.

**Q. How much confidence do you have that Russia will be able to help Mali regain its territorial integrity: a lot of confidence, a little confidence, no confidence, or no confidence at all?** The results show that 93.83% of the population have confidence in Russia (with 67.29% very confident and 26.54% somewhat confident) versus 2.90% who do not have confidence in this country (with 1.04% not at all confident and 1.86% not somewhat confident).

**Q. For each of the following countries or organizations, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion?**

- ✓ **France:** 4.31% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of France while 95.54% have an unfavorable opinion (0.15% could not give an opinion).
- ✓ **Russia:** 95.39% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of Russia while 2.73% have an unfavorable opinion (1.78% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **The United States:** 47.43% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of the United States while 43.94% have an unfavorable opinion (8.62% could not give an opinion).
- ✓ **China:** 91.08% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of China while 5.57% have an unfavorable opinion (3.35% could not give an opinion).
- ✓ **MINUSMA:** 10.26% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of MINUSMA, while 85.21% have an unfavorable opinion (4.54% were unable to provide an opinion).
- ✓ **ECOWAS:** 7.14% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of ECOWAS, while 91.31% have an unfavorable opinion (1.56% were unable to provide an opinion).
- ✓ **BARKHANE:** 4.68% of residents have a favorable opinion of BARKHANE while 90.33% have an unfavorable opinion (4.98% could not give their opinion).

**Q. For each of the following personalities, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the person?**

- ✓ **For the President of the Transition, His Excellency Assimi Goïta:** 7.559% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion (with 83.72% very favorable and 13.83% somewhat favorable) of his person, while 2.23% have an unfavorable opinion (0.22% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **For the head of government, Mr. Choguel Kokalla Maïga:** 91.30% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion of him while 6.39% have an unfavorable opinion (2.30% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Former Prime Minister Boubou Cissé:** 13.61% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him while 76.65% have an unfavorable opinion (9.74% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Former Prime Minister Souleyou Boubeye Maïga:** 13.83% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion of him while 74.87% have an unfavorable opinion (11.30% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Former Prime Minister Moussa Mara:** 47.36% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him while 43.57% have an unfavorable opinion (9.07% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Former Prime Minister Cheick Modibo Diarra:** 69.37% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him, while 23.71% have an unfavorable opinion (6.91% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Former Prime Minister Modibo Sidibé:** 37.03% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion of him while 44.91% have an unfavorable opinion (18.07% could not give their opinion).

- ✓ **Presidential candidate Aliou Boubacar Diallo:** 33.75% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him, while 32.79% have an unfavorable opinion (33.46% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Issa Kaou Djim:** 5.95% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him, while 79.77% have an unfavorable opinion (14.28% have no opinion or do not know the person).
- ✓ **Seydou Mamadou Coulibaly:** 8.92% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of his person while 7.58% have an unfavorable opinion (83.49% have no opinion or do not know the person).
- ✓ **Maitre Demba Traoré:** 23.94% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion of his person while 11.45% have an unfavorable opinion (64.61% have no opinion or do not know the person).
- ✓ **Mamadou Igor Diarra:** 28.33% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of his person while 14.12% have an unfavorable opinion (57.55% have no opinion or do not know the person).
- ✓ **Presidential candidate Niankoro Yeah Samaké:** 23.42% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him, while 8.33% have an unfavorable opinion (68.25% could not give their opinion or do not know the person).

**Q. For each of the following religious figures, please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of the person?**

- ✓ **Chérif Ousmane Madani Haidara:** 87.96% of Bamako people have a favorable opinion of him while 10.71% have an unfavorable opinion (1.34% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **Imam Mahmoud Dicko:** 49.52% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him while 47.88% have an unfavorable opinion (2.60% could not give their opinion).
- ✓ **The Sheriff of Nioro (Bouyé):** 88.33% of Bamako residents have a favorable opinion of him while 10.19% have an unfavorable opinion (1.49% could not give their opinion).

**Q. What solution do you propose to resolve this tension that exists between our country and ECOWAS?** The most frequent answers for this question are :

- Do not break off the dialogue with the ECOWAS; but keep in mind the interest of Malians;
- To withdraw Mali from the ECOWAS;
- Ignore this ECOWAS first and remain united among Malians;

**Q. Do you have any words for President Assimi Goita?** The answers to this open-ended question are:

- We support him, may he do everything to not disappoint us;
- That he also works on good governance, the fight against corruption and unemployment;
- That he doubles his vigilance, there are internal and external enemies;
- That he remains open to dialogue with ECOWAS and with the political class;

*In view of these different results and taking into account certain realities in the field, we offer the following advice:*

- **About the survey:**
  - ❖ The survey covered the district of Bamako and the sample is representative of the district's population. The results of the survey are therefore valid for the district of Bamako and do not necessarily reflect national opinion.
  - ❖ Interpretation of the statistical trends observed in the document must take into account the emotions of the population following the ECOWAS sanctions. Compared to our October 2021 survey, this survey shows that the ECOWAS sanctions have created a surge of solidarity with the transitional authorities.
- **To his Excellency Assimi Goïta:**
  - ❖ Malians are now united as one. I advise you, under the leadership of our religious and traditional authorities, to bring together the bloc of political parties who did not agree with the extension of the transition in order to find a consensual duration for the electoral timetable.
  - ❖ Then, reopen the dialogue with ECOWAS on this new duration and its content. To do this, you can always ask our religious and traditional authorities as well as certain countries like Algeria, Mauritania, etc.
  - ❖ The good opinion towards your team can be due to circumstantial events and not to the results of your work. Everything will depend on the concrete results that you will obtain in the fight against insecurity, the fight against corruption in all its forms, the fight against bad governance.
- **To the politicians as a whole:** one of the questions that deserves to be analyzed is why the population is not at all in a hurry for a return to constitutional order? Are Malians more concerned about the democratic/non-democratic regime or only about the results obtained on the ground? For example, to the question: ECOWAS has indicated that the Malian population is being held hostage by the current authorities: I would like to know, do you see the current authorities as a team that must stay for the time needed to stabilize the country or as a team that must quickly hand over power to a democrat? We found that more than 94.28% of Bamako residents want the current team to stay while only 5.72 % want a quick return to constitutional order.

**Sidiki Guindo,**  
**Statistical Engineer Economist**  
guindosidiki@yahoo.fr

**GPS DE PROJECTION**

